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593 602 [124] Attachment to people on the part of children often depends upon or results from the receiving of some material good. They will seek out or be loyal to whichever parent or relative gives them what they want when they want it. It is common for children to say, "I like him because he gives me good things." The psychological tests and themes written by children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades contain evidence of this. One boy wrote that he was very sad when his uncle died, because his uncle used to give him pennies. Another girl said, "I like my aunt best because she takes me to fiestas." Similarly, a mother, in discussing her children's attitudes toward their grandmother said, "Naturally, Delfina liked her grandmother more than the other children do, because her grandmother gave her more."

593 868 The father assumes an important role in the life of his son when the boy is old enough to go to the fields. Most boys enjoy working in the fields with their father and look forward with great anticipation to being permitted to join him. Fathers, too, are proud to take their young sons to the fields for the first time, and frequently show great patience in teaching them. But even when father and sons go to the fields together day after day, there is no lessening of the respect relations. The father maintains the role of teacher, and when he speaks it is to teach or advise his son. Boys generally do not speak much in the presence of their fathers. Talk about [521] intimate subjects, telling jokes, or discussing women is strictly taboo, generally even after the sons are married.

593 866 594 Regardless of age or marital state, a son is under his father's authority as long as he lives and works with his father. The son receives no recompense other than his support and care and what spending money he can get from his mother or father. Some fathers are generous and permissive in their treatment of grown sons who do a man's work; others are not and continue to treat them as children. Comparatively few unmarried sons leave home to seek work elsewhere. Even boys who are very dissatisfied with their situation at home are reluctant to strike out for themselves. Among youths there is a certain apprehensiveness of the outside, a fear of falling ill among strangers, of having to do menial and laborious work, of not having the backing of a family in case of trouble, and of not being properly respected by others. The economic dependency of sons upon their parents, as well as a desire for a share of the inheritance, prevents most sons from leaving home. The dependence is mutual; fathers are eager to have their sons remain at home to help support the family, and temper their behavior accordingly. In most homes, grown sons who work enjoy the same service and care received by their father.

593 Although there is some feeling that a father should be a good example for his sons, there is no emphasis upon this. The father feels entitled to his son's respect regardless of his behavior. In this sense, the role of the Tepoztecan father is quite different from that of the father in the German family, for example. The German father generally seeks respect based upon awe and admiration; the Tepoztecan father is content with respect based upon fear and prerogative. Thus, in Tepoztlán, [273] although most fathers forbid their sons to drink, this does not prevent the father from drinking in the presence of his sons. When a father gets drunk, it is the

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clean when touched, is sometimes placed under the child's pillow to make him stop crying and go to sleep. Sometimes the leaf of the *zapote blanco* may also be used. When a small child cries because he is *chincual*, or irritated in the rectum, the small berries of the *tehuechichi*[4] are put into the rectum to stop the crying. If a child is restless and sleepless because of diarrhea, his abdomen and buttocks are rubbed with hot tallow, into which has been mixed the powdered flower of the *cempoaxochitl*, and then wrapped in a hot cloth.

Children are, for the most part, not hurried in their development. A healthy child is expected to walk at about one year and to talk at about two years. If the child does not walk by that time, some parents rub his leg and calf muscles with earth warmed by the sun, to remove the "cold" from his legs. More acculturated women may help their children learn to walk by placing a sash under the arms for support or by putting a toy before them. Children are only mildly encouraged to speak, by repeating words to them. There is little correction of childlike errors in speech, such as substituting "y" for "r" or omitting "s," or misplacing syllables, so that errors persist until the child is five or six years of age. If a child cannot speak by the time he is three or four, a church key may be borrowed and turned in the child's mouth to "unlock" it. It is believed by many that the fingernails of a child should not be cut until he begins to speak, because the palate will fall and the child will be mute. To prevent children from scratching themselves with their long nails, some mothers put little mittens on their hands. When teeth are late in coming, the gums may be rubbed with a grasshopper's leg until the gums bleed. This is an old practice and is no longer known by many of the younger people. It is also believed that a child's hair should not be cut before one year, or the child will become ill.

Most mothers prefer a quiet child to an active one and do not encourage children to be independent. It is considered careless and neglectful to permit children to crawl on the floor or in the dirt, and few mothers put their infants down for more than a moment. This attitude is in part due to the fact that children who crawl are more troublesome and need watching, and in part because there is usually no clean, safe place in which a child may crawl. Inside the house or in the patio there is always danger from insects and animals. Women point out that infants who are allowed to crawl about unobserved almost always suffer from chronic diarrhea, worms, and intestinal diseases. Mothers who have no one to help them often put their small children into a large box while they do their work. In the past a busy mother tied her child to a stake and let him play on a *petate*, but this is no longer done.

All infants in Tepoztlán are carried almost every waking moment up to the time they begin to walk. Children are carried a great deal even after they can walk and not infrequently until they are three and four years old. In Tepoztlán, children are not cradled or slung in the *rebozo*, as in some parts of Mexico, but are held in

[4] Solanum nigrum.

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857 [865] not to inform the parents. In a few cases the younger child is the object of much hostility and rivalry on the part of his older siblings, and is subject to surreptitious abuse. In one case a three-year-old girl was hit and mistreated so often by her brothers and sisters, that, to protect her, her parents had to send her to stay with her grandmother.

Small children begin, at first in a passive way, to join the games of the older children as soon as they are able to understand what to do. Often the two-, three-, or four-year-old plays the part of the baby and is merely carried about, put to sleep, or fed in play. It is when they play at house, school, *compadres*, fiesta, baptism, [867] musician, funeral, and other games imitating adult behavior, that the small child begins to learn the customs of the culture. Girls of five often beg for a little corn 524 to grind and make into tortillas, or for a *rebozo* in which to wrap a rag doll. Boys 857 of five imitate older boys' games, such as spinning tops or playing marbles. Other toys are rarely made or bought for children of this age group, and generally only favored children receive them. The majority of children content themselves with playing with sticks, stones, leaves, flowers, corncobs, etc. Pencils, crayons, and writing paper are considered too valuable for children to play with, and preschool children have very little experience with these articles, to say nothing of books and pictures.

857 It is difficult to get information concerning sex play of children. Questions 864 about sex play of children received a blanket denial from parents, who maintained that their children are innocent and know nothing of life. But it is clear from the life stories we have taken that children have notions about sex, and sex play does occur secretively, particularly in playing house and at being *novios*. Girls of ten frequently teach smaller boys what to do.

857 For the most part children between two and four years of age are kept at home if there is someone to take care of them, because they are often too heavy to carry long distances and cannot walk well over the hilly, stone-paved streets. At four or five years, girls and boys often accompany their mothers to the plaza and may carry the can of corn or *nixtamal*. Some mothers report that their children are extremely [866] timid when they first begin to go visiting or marketing, and nervous habits such as chewing at their clothing begin at that time.

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In any one year, school enrollment is highest in the first and second grades and successively lower in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. As each class is promoted, the number of pupils declines. 871

For example, if we follow the class of 1941 from the second grade we find the following drop in enrollment:

Year	*Grade*	*Enrollment*		*Total*
		Boys	*Girls*	
1941	Second	82	57	139
1942	Third	53	26	79
1943	Fourth	—	—	—
1944	Fifth	31	19	50
1945	Sixth	21	14	35

Between the second and third grade, the drop in enrollment was over 40 per cent. Although the average decline is less than that, it is high enough to reflect the negative attitude of parents toward education. The ability to read and write on a simple level satisfies the standards of most mothers and fathers.

Despite this widespread attitude, total school enrollment has increased steadily. There has been an increase of more than 50 per cent in school attendance between 1941 and 1948. In 1941, approximately 49 per cent of the children between age six and fifteen were enrolled in school. A greater proportion of boys (56 per cent) of this age group than girls (41 per cent) went to school. In the other six years for which we have figures, the enrollment of girls is consistently less than boys in each age group.

According to the teaching staff of the central school (see Fig. 56), the most serious problem is attendance. Absence from school is extremely high during all the important fiestas and in the months of June and July, when there is a great deal of work in the fields. Truancy among boys in the third and fourth grades is also high. Only a minority of the parents feel obligated to give school priority over such activities as helping at home or in the field, and this minority is generally in the middle economic group. The wealthy, who own many animals, and the poor, who "have nothing," depend more upon their children's labor. The school staff is helpless in putting pressure on those parents who keep their children home from school, and must depend upon the local officials whose policy it is to do nothing to incur the anger of the voters unnecessarily. 872 [646]

Tardiness is also a serious problem since parents, in general, are not time conscious, and often keep a child at home until he has completed his chores. This situation has been met by ringing the church bell each morning and afternoon, and by arranging a competition for punctuality among the classes. [805]

In the kindergarten and first grade, the fearfulness and crying of the children are problems. Each year, at the beginning of the term, five to eight children cry chronically and must be sent home. The first-grade teacher observed that the children who had attended kindergarten before entering her class showed much 872 866

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Fig. 56. The central school, seen from inside the patio.

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866 less fear of strangers than did older children entering the first grade without previous school experience. This attests to the importance of the socializing role of the school in Tepoztlán. Children in the two lowest groups, as well as in the second grade, are frequently too timid to ask to be taken to the toilet, with unfortunate results. In the second grade, for the most part, teachers note that the children are more self-confident and more mischievous. They still cry readily but for such reasons as not being able to do the work, being assigned to another group, or being sent to the blackboard.

In the third and fourth grades, teachers note that the children tend to be less respectful and more disobedient. But at the same time they seem to be more afraid of their parents than before and often, for fear of being scolded, fail to take home messages from school, asking for contributions, a new notebook, or a costume for a school function.

The pupils in the fifth and sixth grades are described as being the "most obedient and respectful and the most studious." These two grades usually have the best attendance records.

872 It is interesting to note that in the third and fourth grades, among the boys and girls of from nine to twelve years of age, there is voluntary segregation according